

A CAMPAIGN TRACT FOR 1864.

[*Extract from A. H. Stephens' Speech in Georgia, Jan., 1861.*]

WHAT REASONS CAN YOU GIVE TO YOUR COUNTRYMEN OR OTHER NATIONS, TO JUSTIFY SECESSION?

When we of the South demanded the slave trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850?

But do you reply, that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements! As individuals and local communities they may have done so, but not by the sanction of government; for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another fact: When we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of Slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you, by this unwise and impolitic act, do not destroy this hope, and, perhaps, by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, or the vindictive decree of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow?

But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the Legislative branch of government. In choosing the presiding Presidents (*pro tem.*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the Representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the general government. Attorney-generals

we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers, we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers filling the Executive department; the records show for the last fifty years, that of the three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic.

Again, look at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest; it is that of revenue, or means of supporting government. From official documents, we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of government has uniformly been raised from the North.

Look at another necessary branch of government, and learn from stern statistical facts how matters stand in that department. I mean the mail and post-office privileges that we now enjoy under the general government, as it has been for years past. The expense for the transportation of the mail in the Free States was, by the report of the Postmaster-General for the year 1860, a little over \$13,000,000, while the income was \$19,000,000. But in the Slave States, the transportation of the mail was \$14,716,000, while the revenue from the same was \$8,001,026, leaving a deficit of \$6,115,735 to be supplied by the North for our accommodation, and without it we must have been entirely cut off from this most essential branch of government.

Leaving out of view, for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North, with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition,—and for what, we ask again? Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of *Right, Justice, and Humanity*? And, as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that *it is the best and freest government, the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most inspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon.*

Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century, is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote.

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION.

Our nation has been ruled by the slave institution
 Three-fourths of the time since our English Revolution.
 When the slavers last found they had lost their election,
 They basely revolted by rebellious disunion secession.
 If the slavers were allowed to divide this nation,
 Our traverse and great river trade would have molestation;
 They holding the Gulf and outlets of all our great rivers,
 Hold our intercourse and trade to many other regions.
 We are therefore called to the Southern tented field
 To help suppress and make this vile rebellion yield.
 Our cause is truly just without a doubt or fear,
 With firm resolve we freely join our host, a volunteer.
 Slavery has doomed us to the present hostile ruthless state,
 Its many shameful barbarous deeds are sickening to relate.
 With due regard we leave our friends and others here,
 And with loyal zeal we march to the foe—a volunteer.
 Slavery has urged them to this rebellious civil war
 Between the North and South; its rapine heeds no law.
 Relying on superior strength and justness of our Cause,
 We contend with this rebellion to restore our sacred laws.
 May other Nations shun our present dire and dismal state,
 And be aware of Slavery's doom before they are too late,
 Or have strife and Civil War, their freedom to protect.
 And many slaughtered thousands attest its dire effect.
 May vile Slavery's arbitrary power, be soon removed afar,
 And we relieved from its relentless strife and civil war;
 "Then sound the loud timbrel over Slavery's dark sea,
 Fair Freedom has triumphed, her people are free."
 Serfdom and Slavery have in judgment passed the stage;
 Alexander and Lincoln are greatest heroes of the age.
 May their names be recorded on the pages of fame,
 And all nations hereafter will reverence the same.
 When this Secession war is ended, and peace restored again,
 May heaven secure the servants free of vile dishonest men!
 May each one be required to do his just appropriate task,
 And like us have due learning and payment for the past!
 All-loyal men do justly hail the Emancipation,
 And freely accept the offered pay for compensation.
 Masters and servants are ever free to have release,
 And each, like us, contract with whom they please.
 Those who have dealt justly with their slaves
 May expect to retain their allegiance all their days;
 But those who deal unjustly, harsh, and severe,
 May expect their servants to leave and engage elsewhere.

The warm clime of the South, with laws free of disgrace,
Will ever concentrate, and employ the unfortunate race.
The vile thralldom of slavery is the only just cause
Of their past and present flight to enjoy freedom's laws.

May we all then conform to the divine command,
And allow unto others their just honest demand!
All Labor and Color is free and in just repute;
And that of the African not like the dumb brute.

Those who did not sell the freedom of their slaves,
From their vile wilful neglect or any other delays,
After the three-months notice to consider the same,
Did then lose the chance, and the cost was saved.

Any time thereafter they may act their own pleasure,
And escape from their masters at their own leisure.
No Fugitive-slave Law will ever arrest their career,
From the thralldom of slavery to freedom elsewhere.

Who would not prefer the shirt produced by free labor
To the one whose material is extorted from slave labor.
Those who prefer slave labor shirts, and many there be,
Should serve with the slaves until glad to be free.

Who would be so base as betray our fair, free domain,
To become like the South, or Cuba of slavery fame,
With slave-Baron Rulers, and their ruffian knaves,
Like Cuba, the 4 largest own $\frac{1}{8}$ the Island, and 20,000 slaves.

May our future repute have influence far and remote,
And be appreciated by others of vile Slavery report.
May Spain free her Cuba of the Slavery dominion,
And all others likewise have Freedom and Union.

The African shores will then be free to civilization,
And relieved of the slaveholders' kidnapping nation.
The African coasts will then require no blockade,
And save to the nation the millions thus needfully paid.

The slave-ships will then find much better employ
Than to traverse the ocean, and poor Africa annoy;
The sufferings of thousands Africans thrown in the sea,
Are recorded by Him who wills all to be free.

The Chinese ports will then be free of annoy
From vile kidnapping slavers, their people to employ,
Who induce them on board and into their holds,
Cut off their long hair and make them Creoles.

Slave auctions will then have had their long time,
And the slavers compelled to live more divine;
The wail of affliction for lost children and friends
Will be hushed in repose by emancipation's just ends.

Slave representation got by three for every five slaves
 Will not prevail in our Congress, as in past days,
 To rule our free nation in favor of slavery, as before ;
 And emancipation's free subjects will allow it no more.

When Slavery is banished to Oblivion's long time,
 And its allies are reconciled to live more divine,
 Our Nation will then have peace and repose,
 Free of the shame and disgrace of Slavery woes.

The fair clime and soil of the South will be free to all,
 And become Sister States again, at fair freedom's just call.
 The vile minion of Slavery may sound its last dirge
 As the vile Slave institution leaves its last verge.

May we all be united, and assist altogether,
 To banish political strife, and contention forever !
 Our produce and commerce, as in past times,
 Will cross the wide ocean to far-distant climes.

King Cotton's subjects hereafter will be free of disgrace,
 Become freemen like us, and have their own place :
 They will then in the marriage relation justly agree,
 And preserve their own children from the auction free.

His subjects have worked long to acquire his fame,
 And most justly deserve to have freedom again ;
 They will be loyal and industrious to keep his domain
 From the vile rule of kidnapping slaveholders again.

His officials, once famed as being smart and chivalrous,
 Are degraded by Slavery, and become basely rebellious :
 They occasioned the revolution by their unjust collisions,
 But will have their just rights by loyal allegiance.

The Slavers tried hard to enslave our Kansas domain,
 Created strife and civil war to accomplish the same ;
 Had they succeeded and got their slave representation,
 They and their bribed allies would ever ruled the nation.

The allies of Slavery and their fillibustering hounds
 Will cease their vile raids to extend Slavery bounds ;
 Our bordering neighbors will then be free of invasion,
 And relieved of disturbance from the Slaveholders' nation.

Southern outrages on Northern citizens will die away,
 And, like tales of the past, have had their own day.
 The North and the South will then be free of restraint ;
 To exchange their wares and sentiments without complaint.

Their proscription black-books and names will avail no more
 To discontinue their trade and to make us deplore ;
 Such mean foolish proscription will soon be forgotten,
 And the blank-books required to register the Cotton.

Peon serfdom in Texas and New Mexico will cease avail;
 Freedom and just equal rights will again there prevail.
 Their domains will be rescued from the slaver's vile rule,
 And settled by civilized people of Freedom's own school.

When Slavery is banished from off our lands,
 And our National Congress relieved of its clans,
 Legislation will then have the longed-for exemption
 From the irrepressible conflict of slavery contention.

Our eagle and full constellation will then soar aloft,
 Free of contention from the present rebellious effort.
 Slavery will then be repealed, and free from disgrace
 Our present Civil War and the unfortunate race.

Emancipation and Abolition, with their kindred names,
 Will be contented then to cancel all their claims.
 Slavery and barbarity, with all their kindred names,
 Henceforth may be content to cancel all their claims.

Columbia hereafter will then in true glory arise,
 And be queen of the world, and child of the skies.
 Freedom will yet be decreed over earth's wide domain,
 And the sages of science will reverence the same.

All nations will then be free from oppression,
 And the Goddess of Freedom improve their condition.
 Her emblem of freedom will sail round the poles,
 With Justice and Freedom inscribed on its folds.

After this vile slavery conflict is hushed in repose,
 And our Great Western Railroads unite the two coasts,
 Our midland domain will be settled by civilization,
 And the wild aborigines become domestics of the nation.

After this disunion and secession have ceased to delay,
 The wealth of the Nation will traverse and sail each way;
 Our agriculture and mechanical trade will have no delay,
 As the eastern and western shores are markets each way.

The foreign emigration will then, as in past times,
 Seek land on our shores and help settle our climes.
 May peaceful prosperity ever prevail from shore to shore
 And disunion acts of secession disturb us no more.

May each one who contends to free the nation of shame
 Have their names recorded on the fair pages of fame,
 That the names of the dead and living be kept from oblivion!
 By their kindred and countrymen and all others while living.

When hereafter we celebrate the birth of our Nation,
 May we do just honor to our great emancipation!
 Also to those who contended to acquire the just fame;
 And sound requiem dirges to the heroes thus slain.

May their kindred relations be kindly remembered by all,
 And all needful assistance freely rendered at call !
 May their loss be restored by fortune's kind favor,
 And the gratitude of the Nation will assist altogether !

Freedom's laws have long been perverted, and at a low stand,
 But will yet have respect, and triumph at Justice's demand.
 How long, just freedom, thou hast been subject to delay !
 Fly swiftly round, ye wheels of time, with the welcome day.

We feel the effect of enslaving the Millions of African race
 By the cost of rebellion, and their freedom to replace ;
 The present and future generation will make the restitution,
 Like the seven years war, of our English revolution.

We all must share a part in this just retribution
 For allowing the extension of the slave institution :
 Our posterity yet unborn will share in the same,
 And our records of the cause expose the shame.

As our future generations shall pass this stage,
 And the annals of time increase with the age,
 Our history will bear the vile slavery shame,
 And the records of antiquity reveal the same.

After long future ages of time have passed away
 And the long reign of oblivion holds its dark sway,
 Like such ruins of the past, now obliterated by time,
 Our ruined internal defences will reveal a great crime.

ADDITION.

The Demon of Slavery has ever urged the Southern mind
 For extending their slavery domain, and controlling power,
 Thus by having more territory and its influence combined,
 They governed our nation most of the time by slavery power.

The slavers by ruling were induced to indulge a hateful spite
 On Northern men who did business in their slave domain,
 And those they found averse to slavery's unjust cruel right ;
 Some were tarred and feathered, others never came home again.

SLAVERY had been treated too forbearing, and free to its claim,
 Which caused us sorrow, by the trouble it made in later years,
 And became us to treat it more defiant and expose its shame,
 As shown by Sumner, Burlingame, Wilson, and their compeers.

The slavers, Brooks, Keitt, Prior, Wigfall, and their compeers,
 Very few of whom were competent to answer a civil speech,
 Resort to Billingsgate talk, Clubs, and Duels to excite our fears,
 Club Sumner most dead, challenge Burlingame and Wilson each.

The Slavers exulted in their deeds of shameful disgrace,
 And our Sumner suffered two long years, his health to gain ;
 Burlingame offered to meet his foe, who flunked the chosen place,
 And our Wilson by honorable argument put his foe to shame.

Free Kansas, suffering for years by slavery rule, deserved pity,
 Slavers imprisoned and murdered its freemen to enslave its soil,
 Plundered their stock, and destroyed the best of Lawrence City,
 And lately burnt it again, coolly murdering its people in savage style.

When the slavers commenced to organize their Texas domain,
 They tried to exterminate those who favored freedom's ways,
 Poisoned their wells, burnt their houses, their hay and grain,
 Also hung their minister, and many others to end their days.

The Slavers are criminal by traffic in human flesh and blood,
 Become hardened in savage deeds of cruelty shameful to relate,
 Neglect their education, and all acquirements tending to good,
 Relapse into vile degradation which tends to insure a sad fate.

The Slavers by contention had increased their state domain
 From seven to fifteen, and equal to twenty of average size,
 Thus having one-fourth more than the free states contain,
 And by slavery, bribery, &c., ruled our nation likewise.

The slavers not satisfied with their present domain,
 Many parts of which, they never settled or improved,
 Like vandals, they have tried other places to claim,
 For spreading their slaves and have freedom removed.

Slavers have contended that the slaves like their masters,
 And prefer their present conditions, before any others ;
 But their past and present migration prove their disasters,
 By slavery, oppression, and the wrongs of their owners.

Their slaves fled to Canada to escape from oppression,
 Obtain freedom for themselves, and for their posterity ;
 The slavers declared war, to obtain their possession,
 On pretence of seamen impressment and other austerity.

They afterwards caused the Canada revolts for like fates
 To annex it to our nation in vile slavery, oppression ;
 California and Kansas, they tried to make slave states,
 And their bordering territories use for slave progression.

Those disappointments caused their revolt and secession,
 Involving the whole nation in this disgraceful civil war,
 Which is hateful to those, who live free from oppression,
 And abhorrent in the barbarity occasioned by slave law.

The evils they have occasioned by their slave institution,
 Have, and will ever cause oppression while it exists ;
 The wars we have suffered, since our English revolution,
 Have all had their origin by the slaver's vile instincts.

Their lust for ruling our country by slave representation,
 That they and their pet allies may enjoy indolent life,
 Has ever created contention and strife in our nation,
 And should induce us to unite and contend for the right
 We feel assured of contending in favor of a good cause,
 To free us and posterity from vile slavery, oppression,
 May the Lord help us to unite and revise our laws,
 That we may have peace and repose through our nation.
 Slavery will then be repealed by mutual public consent,
 The North and the South unite and enjoy better times ;
 All parties will join and honor the great event,
 And labor be free of coercion in all our climes.

Vile Slavery, which has been the bane of civilized life,
 In our Southern States, and over half our wide domain,
 After being removed by civil war and contentious strife,
 Will long be remembered as causing great trouble and pain.

Migration will then incline to settle the Southern States,
 When free of Slavery, and governed by laws more divine,
 People will settle those productive lands without restraints,
 And the colored race ever concentrate in their clime.

May our future public transactions all tend to peace,
 Be free of contentions, and their base kindred strife ;
 We may thus live united while our life has a lease,
 And our posterity by example will continue such life.

Pierce, Buchanan, and Davis have performed good deeds,
 By furnishing good reasons to annul the slave institution ;
 May they all be duly recompensed by just, honest meeds,
 And fully reconciled in loyalty to our free Constitution.

May Heaven guard us from foreign strife or intervention;
 And soon bring this rebellious civil war to a righteous close.
 May foreign nations not be urged by selfish, vile temptation,
 To assist enslaving the human race, for any selfish cause.

May our National men be inspired by Him who guides
 The Heavens and Earth in His august, majestic sway ;
 Nations will then respect our just and honest rights,
 And our future peaceful happiness have endless day.

From Heaven our Washington looks anxious down,
 And with sorrow sees our Nation being riven,
 The one he plucked from Briton's royal crown,
 The one for which his useful life was given.

He seems with looks and tones imploringly to say,
 My children pause, and cease your rebellious strife,
 Do not enslave or oppress the weak in any way,
 Unite in mutual peace and live more quiet life.

We have long sought to prevent oppressing the weak ;
Likewise to preserve our unity and peace in so doing ;
They urged us reluctant into this war in order to seek
And attain their darling, ardent desire of undoing.

We have made all honorable offers of pacification ;
Also, conducted the war with reserve to attain the end ;
They have scorned and traduced us by false accusation,
And seem willing for extermination, the Union to rend.

We have suffered from Slavery too much to allow the demand,
Which would let them organize for extension as they please ;
They would prepare and continue its extension over the land,
Being assisted by their bribed allies, thus enslaved by degrees.

We should thereby become degraded by the consequent life,
And relapse into vile degradation like those of the South,
Our nation would have frequent warlike barbarous strife,
And deserve retribution worse than famine and drouth.

We feel an ardent desire to avert such dire degradation,
The fond hopes of higher destiny yet inspires our mind.
Our Forefathers tried to control and limit slave station,
When its evils were nothing like the present combined.

It has grown like a cancer sore on our fair, free domain,
Checking and restraining freedom in its savage-like way ;
Breaking the best constitution and laws ever made, in twain,
Disgracing the nation, and steeping the land in bloody affray.

High Heaven's just laws and decrees will yet be fulfilled ;
Slavery and all other wickedness receive their reward ;
Our Nation will yet be redeemed, and freedom upheld,
By the strong arm of Liberty, its guardian the Lord.

Liberty, Union, and Justice, will then take the helm,
And guide our Ship of State in a free, progressive way ;
May peace, prosperity, and happiness preserve our realm,
From slavery, and slavers be punished during their day.

May our Ship of State hereafter ride in a tranquil sea,
Its emblem be Union, Liberty, and Justice, its mission divine ;
Such helmsmen will cause no commotion and all to be free,
Make its harbor and mission freely welcomed in every clime.

RETRENCHMENT.

RETRENCHMENT now and ever is the need of the time,
Both the old and the young should together combine,
To lay by their hard earnings for use in future need,
They will then be acceptable, and reward the good deed.

By having them safely deposited on interest with arrears,
They will gain while you sleep and double every ten years ;
Many are so inconsiderate they spend what they earn,
Careless and thoughtless of the future no prudence do learn.

Instead of attending good reading, &c., to improve their minds,
Spend their time and money in vain doings of many kinds,
In drinking and gambling saloons, and burlesque slave acts,
Some become slaves to their vices and in poverty like rats.

Avoid such amusements as lead to vice and degradation,
Which would in due time occasion ruin to the nation,
Show that you have resolution to stop such inclination,
Shun the Devil's tools and art which lead to temptation.

Be sober and industrious, economical, honest, and wise,
Others by your influence and fortune will do likewise ;
The heavy expense incurred by this vile secession war,
Should induce all to economize and pay according to law.

Buy your necessities of those who are free of secession,
And just on principles of humanity and free progression,
Favor only those who shun evil and take good heed
To save by prudence and economy against future need.

You will thus not help create those vain amusements,
Or lead others to engage in such traffic and vile nuisance,
They will then seek more honorable life in other vocation,
And not ruin and disgrace many people of the nation.

Such dissipation has done much to cause degradation,
Create the present civil war and disgrace to the nation.
Its terrible ruthless results will be warning to us all,
To avoid evil habits, and shun retribution's just call.

The past and future cost of this rebellious civil war
 Will be registered and paid hereafter according to law ;
 Our revenue tariff and public lands will pay their share—
 The taxes on this and future posterity will close the affair.

Remembrance of its origin will then exist with only a few,
 As most of our present generation will have bid it adieu.
 Our history will ever show that vile slavery was the cause,
 And warn our posterity to shun it by just, equal laws.

May we all be united hereafter in freedom's just ways,
 And prove by conduct and principles we enjoy better days.
 Ever be mindful to shun the evil habits and take good heed
 To save by prudence and economy against future need.

By so doing, we acquire wealth and good reputation,
 Which will insure any reasonable desire or anticipation.
 Our nation will thereby acquire a character and station
 Superior in comparison to any, or every other nation.

We shall then redeem our present shame and disgrace
 Which the future oblivion will in due time efface :
 By being united in a free and wise prudential course,
 Keep clear of contention, be happy and free of remorse.

May we all use endeavor to attain such high station,
 And He who rules our destiny will favor our nation.
 Our future good fortune will then be sure of fruition—
 Peace, prosperity, and happiness will be our condition.

We shall then be united for our mutual public good,
 Approach towards perfection, and more near our God.
 May we all now unite in this great reformation,
 And the Ruler of us all will redeem our nation.

Slavery, the cause of contention, will then be removed,
 And we all live united hereafter in friendship improved.
 Party names should no more help cause our disunion ;
 May we have but one party, that party named Union.

Our union friendship will peaceful happiness combine,
 Inspired by loyal union feeling in hearts more divine ;
 Old party names and fogyism to oblivion will be cast,
 And we live happy and contented regardless of the past.

PRESIDENTIAL.

We spread our Banners forth that all may see,
The Union Emblem of just, honest rights and liberty ;
Our standard bearers are loyal men of high repute,
Lincoln and Johnson, of whom there's no just dispute.

They have contended rebellion in its barbarous den,
Assisted by freedom's strong, loyal, ardent, sturdy, men,
As yet the rebels are tenacious of their slavery right,
And being exterminated by continuing their wicked fight.

They have refused to sell the freedom of their slaves,
And would retain slavery and its institution all their days ;
But the God of justice has denounced their wicked deed,
And by just retribution warns them all to take good heed.

We are bound to unite in freedom's just and holy cause,
Support those men who uphold just, free, progressive laws,
Give them our ardent influential help and meed of votes,
Show that we appreciate their loyal conduct and good reports.

Abraham Lincoln has performed an arduous, trying task,
By contending to suppress Rebellion over three years past,
And deserves to be honored for the next four years,
By the union of all parties, with cheer upon cheers.

Andrew Johnson, Ex-Governor of Tennessee, a slavery State,
Contended hard to prevent rebellious secession's direful fate,
But slave barbarians succeeded in their sacrilegious deeds,
And his just loyalty well deserves our nation's meeds.

May we all unite in their election with harmony bliss,
Be sundered from slavery and its vile deeds of wickedness,
May peace and happiness ever crown our kindred States,
And the Ruler of all continue the same to the latest dates.

Our experience in Slavery has been long and severe,
And will teach this and future generations Slavery to fear ;
May foreign nations take warning of its destructive end,
And hereafter shun it, as the greatest evil they can contend.

Slavery will then be extinct in every land and clime,
Human labor be free, exalted, and much more divine,
Sufferings by coercive degradation will cease to exist,
And just freedom triumphant will ever be blessed.

OUR CANDIDATES.

As President Lincoln has received the almost unanimous nomination of the National Union Party for another term of four years from March 4, 1865, all good citizens should unite in considering such unanimity as auspicious of the future. It has devolved on Mr. Lincoln to conduct the Government while contending with the greatest Rebellion on record. He has followed Scripture advice, by asking counsel of wise men, and called the Governors of all the loyal States in session several times, at Washington, together with our other greatest Statesmen and Jurists, all of whom advised to contend and suppress the rebellion; also Ex-President Buchanan wrote to that effect. He has offered to pay for the freedom of their slaves, and since then made other offers of reconciliation and peace; but the Rebels yet seem determined to hold one-half the States in rebellion and slavery, and unless we are willing they should do this, and eventually succeed by help of their allies to extend Slavery over the country as they had commenced, we should unite as one man in favor of continuing our President in office; also of electing Governor Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. He has rendered us under peculiar obligations to him, by being foremost in his exertions to prevent and suppress Rebellion and Secession. He has been Senator to Congress ten years, and Governor of Tennessee six years, and has ever been a loyal union man. His long experience and good reputation will render him duly appreciated by a large majority of voters in the United States. As other candidates are being offered in opposition, we should all unite in the election of Lincoln and Johnson, and in rendering them all the assistance in our power to suppress this unjust, wicked rebellion. Our influence and exertions should soar far above old party ties and serve to inspire a union of justice and freedom from slavery and its pernicious consequences. Let

no unmanly sensitiveness to the tumults of partisan strife cause us to become again the victims of a villainous Slavish Rule, which had latterly become intolerable, and occasioned our late revolution of government and consequent civil war. We had often allowed bad men to select candidates for office and permitted bad men to get into office, until office had become an engine of corrupt depravity. The great strength we have shown since then proves that we might have prevented the calamity had we been duly zealous in selecting and putting good men into office. There are many who take no interest in primary meetings for selecting candidates, which is akin to treason, and has occasioned the past and present evils. The truth is that good men may rule the country, and rule every State and town, if they will act their whole part. They should pray for the country and assist in the first duties for its behalf, to help render their prayers effectual and prove their sincerity. If those who profess to be good people fail to see their duty and fail to do it, let them have no whining hereafter, but if they suffer the consequence, acknowledge the justice which makes slaves of fools. May the base idea of ease, indolence and happiness by owning slaves and selling their children to slavery, be justly punished in every civilized nation, by Him who has set before all good and evil, and endowed them with free agency, regarding those who choose evil as He did those of Sodom and Gomorrah, deserving of just retribution according to their deeds.

As most of the opposition party seem inclined to favor the Rebels, this election will show whether we are in favor of exterminating Slavery, or of allowing its continuance and extension over the country as before, until all who are not able to own slaves will have to work in competition with slaves, become degraded and subject to the arbitrary rule of slave-owners and their overseers, which rule has been some relaxed by their desire to induce settlers from other States and countries, many of whom they would exterminate if opposed to Slavery, and thereby have compelled them to be loyal. It is probable that one-third, and perhaps one-half their army is composed of such men, who frequently desert and try to seek our protection from worse than slave bondage.

ON THE CHICAGO SURRENDER.

BY BAYARD TAYLOR.

What! hoist the white flag when our triumph is nigh,
 And crouch before Treason, make freedom a lie!
 What! spike all our guns when the foe is at bay,
 And the rags of his black banner dropping away!
 Strike the flag and honors our nation has won,
 And her brave bird from his home in the sun!
 He's a coward who shrinks from the lift of the sword,
 And a traitor who mocks at the sacrifice poured;
 Nameless and homeless the doom that should blast
 The knave who stands wav'ring till peril is past;
 But he who submits when the thunders have burst
 And our victory dawns, is of cowards the worst.
 Is the old spirit dead? Are we broken and weak,
 That Treason so shamelessly endeavors to seek
 And court the Slave Institution? not blush at the show?
 The tools of the treachery and the friends of the foe.
 See Anarchy smile at the peace which they ask,
 And the eyes of Disunion flash out through the mask.
 Keep firm, ye brave boys, who by valley and crag
 Bear onward unfalt'ring our gallant old flag;
 Strong arms of the Union heroes, living and dead,
 Shall the blood of your valor be uselessly shed?
 No soldier's green laurel is promised you here,
 But the white ray of "sympathy" softly shall cheer.
 And you, ye war martyrs, who preach from your graves
 How captives are nursed by the masters of slaves,
 Or living confined still linger in shadows of death,
 Puff out the starved muscle, recall the faint breath,
 And shout till those traitors lament at the cry;
 "By the hands of the Union we fought for we die."
 With slave-masters' hands this shame we do share,
 But it grows too sadly debasing for freemen to bear;
 Washington and Jackson will turn in their graves
 When the Union shall rest on two races of slaves,
 Or, spurning the spirit which bound it of yore,
 And sundered, will exist as a nation no more.

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